

THE MILITANT

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Arrogant Kennedy Line Tumbles Canadian Gov't

By George Lavan

President Kennedy's attempt to jam nuclear warheads down Canada's throat has caused the downfall of Prime Minister Diefenbaker's government. National elections scheduled for April will center around two issues: acceptance or rejection of nuclear arms and Canada's right to govern itself without U.S. interference.

Though various Washington flunkies, including Secretary of State Rusk, are fulfilling the time-honored obligation of underlings to absolve the chief of responsibility for unpopular acts, U.S. interference in Canada's domestic politics was previously okayed by the White House. Indeed, it is a consistent part of the "get-tough" policy which Kennedy has instituted after his "glorious victory" in the Cuban crisis.

Washington's Plan

Kennedy's bulldozing of the other capitalist nations into the economic and military positions assigned to them in Washington's overall plan for World War III met with initial success in the Skybolt showdown with Britain. Since then it has had setbacks: 1) French refusal of Polaris submarine missiles and rejection of Britain's entry into the Common Market; 2) now Canada's resistance to taking nuclear warheads and making its armed forces a subsidiary branch of the Pentagon.

U.S. interference in the Canadian parliament's wrangle over defense policy took the form of a State Department press release contradicting statements made by Canadian Prime Minister Diefenbaker and backing up arguments used by Opposition leader Lester Pearson, critic of Diefenbaker's delay in final acceptance of U.S. supplied nuclear warheads.

Outside Interference

To emphasize the unusual character of the State Department action, its press release was given to the Canadian Ambassador in Washington only a half hour before it was given to the press in Washington and in the Canadian capital where the parliamentary debate was raging.

So arrogant was this attempt to influence the struggle in parliament that even its intended beneficiary, Liberal Party leader Pearson, had to join in denouncing it as outside interference. As he did so Diefenbaker taunted him with questions about his collaboration with Washington and "When are you going back for further instructions?"

T. C. Douglas, leader of Canada's New Democratic Party, which is based on the trade unions, denounced the U.S. action as "unwarranted and unprecedented interference in the internal affairs of Canada." To cries from the deputies of "Hear, hear," he added:

"I think the government of the United States should know from this Parliament that they are not dealing with Guatemala, where in 1954 the State Department had a substantial hand in throwing out the Arbenz government; nor are they dealing with Cuba, where in 1961 they promoted, financed and mounted an invasion of that country which was an inexcusable



Rusk

interference in the affairs of another member of the Organization of American States, an action which, I may say, was in my opinion taken for no other reason than to make the world safe for the United Fruit Co. and the Standard Oil Co. in order that the latter might continue their policies of commercial exploitation."

Because of the rapid takeover of the Canadian economy in the past two decades by U.S. big business, there is wide popular opposition to U.S. attempts to run Canada's political life. Consequently all four major parties in the country denounce (at least for the record) U.S. interference. But all three capitalist parties are committed or compromised on accepting nuclear arms—Diefenbaker's position was not that of rejecting but delaying on acceptance. Only the New Democratic Party, the labor party, is opposed to nuclear armament and to testing.

'Alliance-for-Progress' Thugs Stage Rigged Nicaragua Vote

By William Bundy

Nicaragua, "ally for progress" of Washington, held another phony election Jan. 3. Left untouched by the result was the Somoza family dictatorship, which had staged the whole show. This 30-year-old dictatorship is the heritage of the Central American country's occupation by the U.S. Marines. Official election returns haven't been announced yet but it doesn't make any difference since the Somozas' hand-picked candidate, Rene Schick, former secretary of Anastasio Somoza Sr., had only token opposition.

This was supposed to have been Nicaragua's first election by secret ballot. Special pains were taken to make this election look good because President Kennedy is scheduled to meet with the presidents of the Central American "republics" and Panama next month to work out plans against Cuba. It will facilitate things for Kennedy's propagandists and

Sec'y of Labor Joins Chorus Against Strikes

By Fred Halstead

FEB. 4 — A speech by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz last week before the National Academy of Arbitrators in Chicago provides a revealing summary of the attitude of the Kennedy administration toward labor. The main point in the speech was a pointed threat that "an aroused public" will demand compulsory arbitration of labor disputes if the present wave of strikes continues.

Wirtz's speech is itself part of a concerted propaganda campaign by the administration, congressmen and the news media to create an anti-strike atmosphere. It is aimed at bringing about new anti-strike legislation and frightening labor officials from using the strike weapon.

Wirtz declared that the country is close to a "labor crisis" comparable to the strike waves after the two World Wars and in the 1930s. What Wirtz failed to mention, however, was that the current wave of strikes is the result of an employer offensive — involving cuts in job security and the use of automation as a weapon against the workers. It has been going on for some time and has finally encountered some serious resistance from certain sections of the workers and even from a few union leaders.

The East Coast longshore strike, for example, was caused directly by the insistence of the employers on cutting work gangs under conditions where there are already more longshoremen than jobs. The Philadelphia transit strike was caused by the employer's demand that a no-layoff clause be removed from the contract. The New York newspaper strike is caused by the fact that the printers face a period of drastic technological change and the publishers have refused to recognize the union's right and power to bargain on these changes.

Similar attempts to cut away at labor's position are behind the disputes in aerospace, railroad, and in the Kentucky coal mines. The cutting away process is also evident in areas where unions have so far offered little or no resistance — such as in steel, auto, rubber, packinghouse and garment.

If the offensive continues, more pressure from the ranks for strikes of resistance can be expected. Under these conditions, Wirtz threatens "both labor and management" with anti-strike legislation. It's like a cop, seeing a mugger and his victim fighting, telling the two that if they don't stop punching he will handcuff the victim.

apologists if it can be claimed that Nicaragua is easing its brutal dictatorship.

The Somozas subsidize an "opposition" party to their own official Liberal Party so that there will be election "contests." This time, in addition, a real opposition candidacy was attempted by Dr. Francisco Aguero, a conservative opposed to the Somoza family's flagrant graft and habit of murdering political critics.

But shortly before the campaign began, a broadcast censorship law was "passed" and a station that had permitted some mildly anti-Somoza statements was penalized. Then it was revealed that the "secret ballot" would not be so secret but that Liberal Party poll watchers could tell who were voting against the Somozas' candidate.

Attendance at Liberal Party rallies was recruited by giving work-

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Militant Photo by Jack Arnold

IN CAPITAL OF "FREE WORLD." Washington, D.C., cops search Robert Franklin, one of 16 arrested while picketing Anti-Defamation League dinner which gave "democratic legacy" award to President Kennedy. The only Negro arrested, Franklin was only one searched by police. Pickets were hauled in for chanting slogans. They were protesting Kennedy administration's persecution of newsman William Worthy. See story, page 8.

Clyde Kennard, Fatally Ill, Released From Miss. Jail

By Robert Shann

Clyde Kennard is free — released by Governor Ross Barnett so that he wouldn't die of cancer in a Mississippi jail. The 35-year-old frame-up victim's release was brought about by the campaign waged on his behalf by the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee.

"Now that he can actually get medical care, I feel better," said Mrs. Sara A. Tarpley of Chicago, Kennard's sister. "Mother was thrilled when I talked to her on the phone. And I'm walking on air."

Kennard's crime was that he applied for admission to the University of Southern Mississippi in 1959. That was three years before the sending of federal troops to enforce admission to James H. Meredith at the University of Mississippi broke the color bar in that state's universities.

Mississippi officials first tried to buy Kennard off by offering him a scholarship to any Northern college or university. That failing, they twice rejected his application to USM. Finally, they framed him as the mastermind of a theft of \$25 worth of chicken feed and gave him the maximum sentence of seven years. Kennard has served two years and three months of that sentence.

Kennard's heroic but tragic fight began in 1955 when he had to return from three years at the University of Chicago to his family's farm near Hattiesburg, Miss., because of his stepfather's death. To complete his education he applied for admission to USM which is near his home.

Kennard's sister has gone several thousand dollars into debt to pay off loans on the farm which has fallen into disuse since her brother's imprisonment. Kennard will now spend some time with

his mother on the farm before entering a Veterans Administration hospital in Jackson.

Many men die in the prisons of this country without adequate medical care. Clyde Kennard's release can in no way be attributed to the humanitarian feelings of Mississippi's racist officials. Full credit must go to the public pressure for his release generated by the campaign carried on by the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee.

Meredith Decision Setback to Racists

The decision of James H. Meredith to return to the University of Mississippi for the spring semester is a blow to the racists who counted on forcing him out. "I see signs that give me hope that I will be able to go to school in the future, under adequate, if not ideal conditions," he said. Meredith has been forced to study in an atmosphere of social isolation and harassment.

When he was asked if he thought he would be in personal danger while continuing his studies at the university, Meredith replied that "Negroes in Mississippi generally always are in danger."

While Meredith was being registered, U of M officials turned down the application of another Negro, Dewey R. Greene. They said he "failed to meet qualifications." Greene went to the federal court but was told by it on Feb. 4 to appeal his case first to higher university officials.

Clemson College has become the first integrated school in South Carolina with the admission this term of 20-year-old Harvey Gantt.

CHINA'S REPLY TO CRITICS, PART III

Peking Presses for Isolation of Yugoslavia

This is the last of three installments comprising the complete text of an editorial from the Dec. 31, 1962, Peking People's Daily entitled, "The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us."

Recently in capitalist countries, some Communists who have degenerated politically and some right-wing social-democrats have successively advertised the theory of "structural reform," using it to attack Communist parties. This fact in itself is sufficient to show how closely the theory of "structural reform" resembles social-democracy and how remote it is from Marxism-Leninism.

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement point out that Socialist revolution may be realized through peaceful or non-peaceful means. Some people have tried in vain to use this thesis to justify the theory of "structural reform." It is also erroneous to quote peaceful transition one-sidedly as "a principle of world strategy of the Communist movement." From the Marxist-Leninist point of view, it would naturally be in the interests of the proletariat and all the people if peaceful transition could be realized.

Whenever the possibility for peaceful transition appears in a given country, the Communists should strive for its realization. After all, possibility and reality, the wish and its fulfillment, are two different things. Hitherto, history has not witnessed a single example of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. Communists should not pin all their hopes for the victory of the revolution on peaceful transition. The bourgeoisie will never step down from the stage of history of its own accord. This is a universal law of class struggle.

Communists must not in the slightest degree relax their preparedness for revolution. They must be prepared to repel the assaults of counter-revolution and to overthrow the bourgeoisie by armed force at the critical juncture of the revolution when the proletariat is seizing state power and the bourgeoisie resorts to armed force to suppress the revolution; that is to say, Communists should be prepared to employ dual tactics, namely, while preparing for the peaceful development of the revolution, they should be fully prepared for its non-peaceful development.

Only in this way can they avoid being caught unawares when a situation favorable to the revolution emerges, and when the bourgeoisie resorts to violence in order to suppress the revolution.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT
Weekend Socialist Seminar on Marxism in Today's World. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m., The Fight Against War. Speaker, Jack Barnes. Sat., Feb. 16, 10 a.m.-12 noon, Marxism, the Working Class and 'New Left' Critics. Discussion leader, Evelyn Sell. 1-3 p.m., Outline of Marxist Economics, by Jack Barnes. 3:30-5:30 p.m., The Major Radical Parties — Why Can't they Get Together? by Peter Allan. Sun., Feb. 17, 10 a.m.-12 noon, Marxist Economics and Current State of World Capitalism, by John Pederson. 1-3 p.m., Social Roots of Fascism, by Harriet Talan. 3:30-5:30 p.m., Socialism and the Negro Struggle, by Robert Himmel. Sat. Night, a party featuring Mid-Eastern (USA) Music. Contrib. \$1 for entire weekend or 25¢ per session. All events at 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum, Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

NEW YORK
Behind the China-India Border Dispute — An analysis by Tim Wohlforth, contributor to International Socialist Review. Fri., Feb. 15, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50¢). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Even when it is possible to secure state power through peaceful means, one must be prepared to deal immediately with armed intervention by foreign imperialists and with counter-revolutionary armed rebellions supported by the imperialists.

Communists should concentrate their attention on the accumulation of revolutionary strength through painstaking efforts and must be ready to fight back against armed attacks by the bourgeoisie whenever necessary. They should not lay one-sided stress on peaceful transition and concentrate their attention on that possibility; otherwise they are bound to benumb the revolutionary will of the proletariat, disarm themselves ideologically, be utterly passive and unprepared politically and organizationally, and end up by burying the cause of the proletarian revolution.

The thesis of Comrade Togliatti and certain other CPI leaders concerning "the advance toward socialism in democracy and in peace" is reminiscent of some of the statements of the old revisionist K. Kautsky. Kautsky, more than 40 years ago, said:

"I anticipate . . . that it will be possible to carry it (the social revolution of the proletariat) out by peaceful, economic, legal, and moral means, instead of by physical force, in all places where democracy has been established." (*The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* by K. Kautsky, 1918.)

Should Communists not draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and such social-democrats as Kautsky?

The Moscow Statement

The extent to which Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades have departed from Marxism-Leninism and from the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement is more clearly revealed by their ardent flirtation with the Yugoslav revisionist group.

A representative of the Tito group, renegades from Marxism-Leninism, was invited to the recent congress of the Italian Communist Party and was given a platform from which to denounce China. At the same congress, Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades publicly defended the Tito group and lavishly praised them for "the value of what they have done and are doing."

We wish to ask of Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades: "Do you still recognize the Moscow Statement as binding on you?" The 1960 Moscow Statement declares unequivocally:

"The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist 'theories' in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Yugoslav Communists opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist program to the 1957 Declaration; they set the League of Yugoslav Communists against the international Communist movement as a whole."

Can it be that this condemnation of the Tito group is a mistake? Is the resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Communist Parties of all countries to be thrown overboard at the whim or will of any individual or individuals? After all, facts are facts and renegades from communism remain renegades from communism. The judgment arrived at in the Moscow Statement cannot be overturned by anyone, whoever he may be.

Far from giving up their thoroughly revisionist program, the Titoites have stuck to it in the draft of the Yugoslav Constitution which they published not long ago.

The Tito group has not changed its "unique road" of building "socialism" by selling itself to imperialism.

On the contrary, it is working harder and harder in the service of the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Recently, U.S. imperialism tipped the Tito group with extra "aid" amounting to more than \$100 million. Under the same old camouflage of "being outside blocs" and of "positive co-existence" the Tito group is doing everything it can to sabotage the national and democratic movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and to undermine the unity of the socialist camp and of all peace-loving countries.

With the development of the Tito group's revisionist line and their increasing dependence upon U.S. imperialism, Yugoslavia has long ceased to be a Socialist country and the gradual restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia began long ago. This restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia has occurred not through any counter-revolutionary coup d'état by the bourgeoisie, nor through any invasion by imperialism, but gradually, through the degeneration of the Tito group. In this connection, as Lenin pointed out long ago, "The main question of every revolution is, undoubtedly, the question of state power. In the hands of which class power is — this decides everything."

The character of a state depends on what class wields state power and on what policy it carries out. In Yugoslavia today state power is in the hands of the Tito group, a group which has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the cause of communism, betrayed the fundamental interests of the Yugoslav working class and the Yugoslav people, and which is enforcing a whole set of out-and-out revisionist policies.

In the Yugoslav countryside, the rich peasant and other capitalist forces are rapidly growing, and class differentiation is being accelerated. The capitalist laws of free competition and of profit play the dominant role in all spheres of Yugoslav economic life, and capitalist anarchy is rampant.

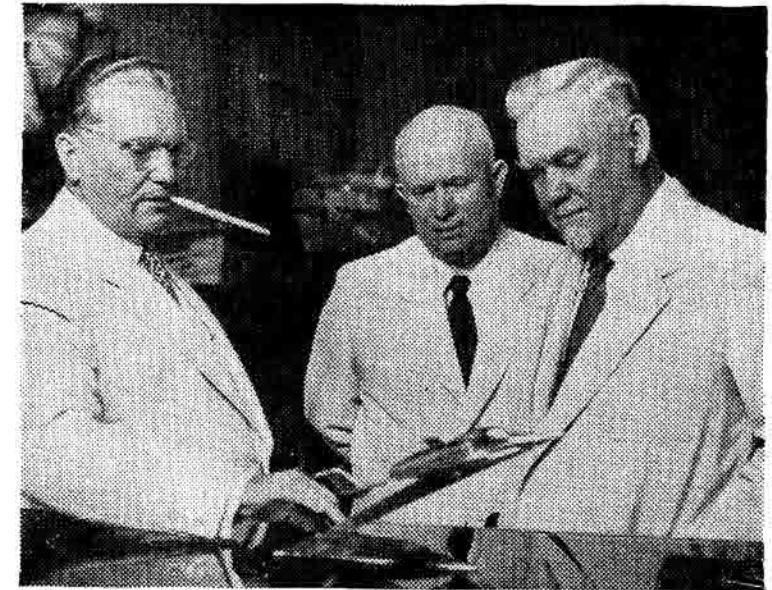
Imperialist Appraisal

It may not be unprofitable to listen to what the imperialists have to say in their appraisal of the Tito group. The United States imperialists have likened the Tito group to a "bellwether," that is to say, they aim at inducing certain Socialist countries to leave the Socialist camp and enter Kennedy's "community of the Free World" through the influence of the Yugoslav revisionists.

The Yugoslav example makes it clear that the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads is still going on and that the danger of the restoration of capitalism continues to exist even in a country which has embarked on the road of socialism.

The phenomena of political degeneration and of the emergence of new bourgeois elements after the victory of a proletarian revolution are not difficult to understand. Lenin once said that, historically, various kinds of degeneration had occurred and that, in given conditions, it was possible for a handful of new bourgeois elements to emerge from among Soviet functionaries. It is precisely the new bourgeois elements, such as Lenin referred to, who have occupied the ruling positions in Yugoslavia.

In his concluding speech Comrade Togliatti said: "When you say that capitalism has been restored in Yugoslavia — and everybody knows that this is not true — nobody believes the rest of what you say, and everyone thinks that it is all simply an



TITO, KHRUSHCHEV AND BULGANIN. Chinese leaders, bitterly hostile to the Tito regime, hurl vituperation at Khrushchev for re-establishing friendly relations with the Yugoslav government, and assert that a process of capitalist restoration is taking place in Yugoslavia.

exaggeration." He seemed to think this a complete refutation of the Marxist-Leninist theses of the Chinese Communist Party. But sophistry does not alter the truth. The only reason advanced in support of the arbitrary assertion that Yugoslavia is a Socialist country was that one could not find a single capitalist there.

Togliatti et al

It is always hard for people to see the truth when they wear colored glasses. Since there are many points of similarity between Togliatti et al and the Tito group in their understanding of proletarian revolution, proletarian dictatorship and socialism, it is small wonder that they fail to see the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia, and that they fail to see the new bourgeois elements in Yugoslavia.

It is particularly surprising that certain people, while loudly boasting of their intimate relations with the renegade Tito group, vigorously attack the Chinese Communist Party, asserting that our unity with the Albanian Workers Party, which is based on Marxism-Leninism, is "impermissible."

These people stop at nothing in their attempt to eject the Albanian Workers Party, a Marxist-Leninist party, from the international Communist movement, and at the same time, they are seeking ways to inject the renegade Tito group into the international Communist movement.

What are they really after? As the old Chinese saying has it, "Like goes with like and unlikes pull asunder." Should not those who treat the Tito group like brothers and who cherish such bitter hatred for a fraternal Marxist-Leninist party stop and think for a moment where they now stand?

In the final analysis, our differences on a whole series of problems with Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades who hold similar views involves the fundamental question of whether the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism are outmoded, and whether the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are out of date.

Using the pretext that the epoch has changed and that nations have special characteristics, Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades hold that Marxism-Leninism is "outmoded" and that the common laws governing Socialist revolution, as set forth in the Moscow Declaration, do not apply to Italy.

Gian Carlo Pajetta, one of the leaders of the Italian Communist Party, has gone even further, he

has said: "Marxism is different from Leninism, and the Marxism of Marx is different from the Leninism of Lenin."

It is on such pretexts that they have revised and discarded the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and have put forward and are peddling what they call the "Italian road," which is contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

Scientific socialism founded by Marx and Engels is a summing-up of the laws governing the development of human society and of truth that is universally applicable. The development of history, far from "outmoding" Marxism, has continued to prove its boundless vitality. Marxism has continuously developed in the course of the struggle of the international proletariat to know and to change the objective world.

New Historical Conditions

On the basis of the characteristics of the epoch of imperialism, Lenin creatively developed Marxism in the new historical conditions. In the years following his death, the proletarian parties of various countries enriched the treasury of Marxism-Leninism by their own revolutionary struggles. Nevertheless, all these new developments proceeded from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and definitely did not depart from these basic principles.

The path of the October Revolution charted by Lenin, and the common laws governing Socialist revolution and Socialist construction as set forth in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, are the common path along which the peoples of the world are advancing toward the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. In spite of the great changes in the world since the October Revolution, the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, which are illustrated by the path of the October Revolution, shine forth today with even greater brilliance.

In defending his erroneous point of view, Togliatti said that the line pursued by the Chinese Communist Party "actually did not correspond to the strategic and tactical line pursued, for example, by the Bolsheviks in the course of the revolution from March to October (1917)." This definitely does not conform to the historical reality of the Chinese Revolution.

In its long revolutionary struggle, in its struggle against dogmatism and empiricism as well as against "left" and right opportunism, the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively

(Continued on Page 4)

BOOK REVIEW

Delinquency Problem: How to Reach Cops?

ALL THE WAY DOWN. By Vincent Riccio and Bill Slocum. New York: Simon and Schuster. 192 pp., \$3.95.

In the last ten years the number of books written about delinquency has increased almost as rapidly as delinquency itself. Most of them, for a variety of reasons, are not very enlightening. *All the Way Down*, while it does not offer any new theories, or even very many new facts, is remarkable because it is a completely honest report. For five years Vincent Riccio was a New York Youth Board "detached worker," an expression which he calls his first experience of social-worker gobbledegook. "Detached," the kids asked him, "detached from what?"

Riccio discovered that while it was extremely difficult to work with juvenile gangs, it was nevertheless possible to reach them. The insoluble problem was reaching the social workers, cops, politicians and officials who were supposed to be "helping" the kids. He tells it as he saw it, without any generalized conclusions, and this in itself makes the book unique. Almost everyone who writes about delinquency confidently offers opinions on its cause and cure.

Pervades Society

To give a brief summary of just a few of the more popular ideas:

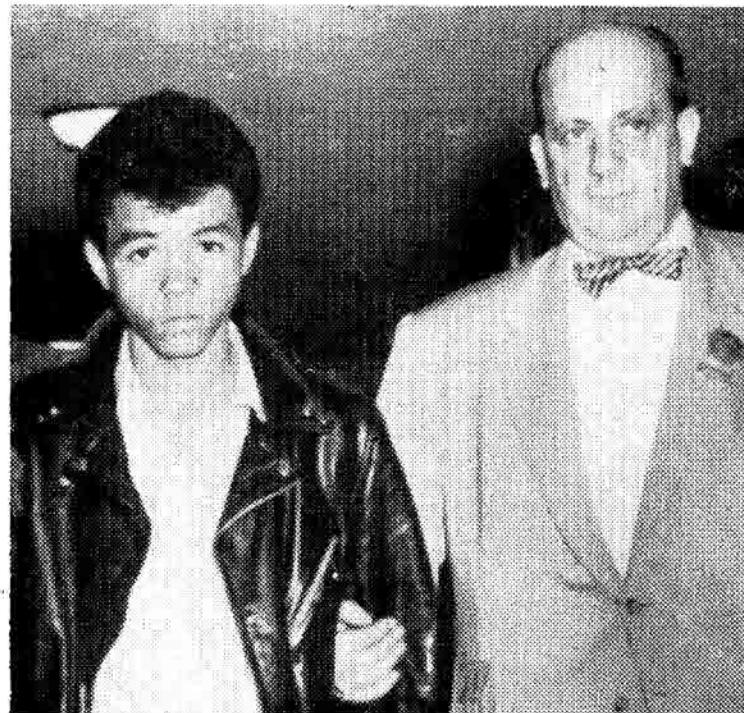
First, delinquency is caused by deprivation. Some experts feel this deprivation is primarily one of affections — parents who ought to love their children apparently do not, and vice versa. Others see the deprivation as economic — bad housing, overcrowded schools, limited job opportunities. On the other hand, a large number of theorists believe that overindulgence is the basic trouble. Children are spoiled, they get by without making any real effort, they live soft and get too much too easily. Others isolate single factors like violence in television shows and comic books. Some put the primary blame on parents, some on prevalent materialist values.

Delinquency has become so widespread that none of these explanations is adequate. Extremely divergent social groups and societies are affected. Arthur Miller, in an article in the November issue of Harper's, *The Bored and the Violent*, points out that adolescent street gangs are a problem in all industrialized countries — the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, Latin America. In this country, juvenile violence and narcotic addiction are common in wealthy Westchester as well as in the ghettos of Harlem and Brooklyn. He concludes that young people are bored, and this is a manifestation of a universal feeling in the world today that life is pointless. "People no longer seem to know why they are alive."

Boredom and Conformity

One meaning of bore is "to weary by tedious iteration or dullness" which I think is related to another meaning, "to pierce with a hole or make hollow, especially with a rotary drill." There is at least one respect in which all of the societies and social groups affected by delinquency are similar — a reiteration of the "normal" or accepted values. The values themselves may be different but the pressure to conform is similar. This results — I agree with Miller — in a feeling that life is meaningless. Young people have a ready-mixed meaning forced upon them before they have an opportunity to explore, or discover a meaning for themselves.

In a formal sense this is not a revolt against any particular set of values, certainly not a political revolt against any particular set



FRANK SANTANA, young New York Puerto Rican, was sentenced to 25 years in jail on charge of murder when neighborhood gang rivalry brought death of another teen-ager. The meaning of the case, in social terms, was vividly explored by Joyce Cowley in a pamphlet entitled, "The Santana Case—Tragedy of a Puerto Rican Youth." It's available from Pioneer Publishers at ten cents a copy.

of values, certainly not a political revolt, or even a rejection of conventional goals. Young gangsters in so-called "underprivileged" areas usually have very conventional goals, but no prospect of getting the things that appeal to them so much. In Westchester where they have the material advantages for which youngsters in the Brooklyn slums long, they are equally "bored" because here, too, there is a tedious reiteration of a pattern without individual meaning.

The value of *All the Way Down* is that it stimulates thinking about these problems. One practical proposal which Riccio makes is on addiction. It is a plea to take narcotics out of the hands of the underworld by making them available to addicts under medical supervision. He describes in some detail how heroin which costs around \$10,000 in China, Europe or Latin America becomes a "three million dollar cache" in the United States, because it passes through the hands of innumerable middlemen, each of them taking a fantastic mark-up, each adulterat-

ing it with anything from baby powder to roach powder. This makes dope addiction such a profitable racket that anyone who stands in the way can be bought off or otherwise disposed of.

Eliminating profits is an idea which could be applied more generally. Everyone from the sponsor of the violent TV shows which are a sales device for toothpaste, headache pills and soap, to the manufacturers and suppliers who directly or indirectly provide the gangs with knives, guns and other appropriate weapons, are making out by exploiting the difficulties of these youngsters. So are the hordes of officials, cops, social workers and others who make a living by their so-called "help" and their "analyses" of the question.

The intensity of the protest in *All the Way Down* forces us to take a look at the real problem. As Miller says in the conclusion of his article, "What the country has to decide is what it is going to say if these kids should decide to listen."

—Joyce Cowley

Rickenbacker Gives Birchers A Fresh Boost in Colorado

By Tom Leonard

DENVER — Two years ago the *Colorado Labor Advocate* exposed plans of local businessmen to bring the notorious Christian Anti-Communist Crusade to this city. By correctly assessing the "Crusade's" anti-labor character, the labor paper helped prevent its appearance in Denver.

But Birchites and other right wingers continue their efforts to promote witch-hunting and thought-control in this area. One of their activities is a series of private "anti-communist" classes designed mainly for businessmen and professionals. Another is the bringing to town of speakers like Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker.

Rants at Lions

On Jan. 15 the World War I aviator and post-World War II reactionary was the guest speaker before the Denver Lions Club. His harangue in defense of conservatism included attacks on organized labor, "uncontrolled internationalism," and "futile, wasteful so-called foreign aid."

Rickenbacker lumped together

liberals, socialists and communists. He also charged that the U.S. "is on the wrong highway and has been for 30 years." Though disclaiming membership in the John Birch Society, Rickenbacker said, "as long as they are against communism, I'm for them."

Several days before Rickenbacker's arrival local businessmen received a mailing containing a pamphlet defending the Birch Society, a 32-page report of Birchite activities, a folder recommending 12 books, including *America's Retreat From Victory* by the late Senator McCarthy, a folder entitled "Why Join the John Birch Society?" and a membership application form.

James Loeffler, chairman of the Stratton Birchite chapter, a self-styled "little old sheepherder," chose the day of Rickenbacker's speech to announce plans for roadside billboards urging people to join the Birch Society. Last month he erected a billboard calling for the impeachment of Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren

THE NATIONAL

PICKET LINE

The United Rubber Workers union has announced bargaining goals for new contracts with major rubber companies due April 20 and June 1. It will ask for "a share of increases in economic productivity" and a "sabbatical leave" provision to ameliorate unemployment. The productivity proposal calls for the percentage of labor costs to total expenses to be figured. Then any reduction in this percentage would be "shared" with the workers through monthly bonuses.

A full sabbatical leave — one year off with pay every seven years — would provide 15 per cent more jobs, all other things being equal. The union is asking for a modified "sabbatical" which would offset unemployment by providing about four per cent more jobs.

Strikers at the Coca-Cola plant at Hamilton, Ontario, have been handing out free bottles of Pepsi-Cola.

United Steelworkers of America President David J. McDonald has decided to go along with President John F. Kennedy and not press the union's demand for a shorter work week at this time. McDonald told a union conference in Pittsburgh late last month that "unemployment is causing terrible problems." But, he said, the shorter work week would cost the companies too much. He proposed instead an extended vacation plan that would not be "particularly costly" and "may create as many as 6,000 jobs." The Steel workers Union has lost about 350,000 members in recent years due to automation unemployment and cutbacks in steel production.

Robena miners returned to work again after walking out Jan. 28 in the second strike over safety conditions since the Dec. 6 explosion. The walkout came after the firing of a ventilating-fan attendant who refused a company order to leave his post for other work. The miners went back when the man was reinstated and the company promised to live up to its previous promise to keep each fan attended constantly. The Robena mine, owned by U.S. Steel, is near Carmichaels, Pa.

Failure of a fan allows the accumulation of explosives — gas and suspended coal dust. In the hearing on the Dec. 6 disaster, it was revealed that a ventilating fan had gone off and the man on duty failed to notice it. He testified he couldn't hear the stoppage alarm because he was on his way to attend to one of his other duties — cleaning the bath house. Thirty-seven men died as a result of the Dec. 6 explosion.

The Philadelphia transit strike ended Feb. 2 when the Philadelphia Transportation Company accepted essentially the same terms its negotiators had agreed to earlier, but which had been turned down by the corporation's major stockholder before the city agreed to a two-cent fare increase. The new contract retains the key no-layoff clause which the company had sought to remove. It grants 20 cents an hour in wage increases over two years and 13 cents in fringes. The no-layoff clause, however, will not apply to workers hired after January, 1963. It protects all other workers from layoffs due to technological change.

The week before the settlement, Transport Workers Union President Michael J. Quill appeared on a TV program in connection with the strike. In spite of Quill's reputation for bluster, observers in the studio were reported to be shocked by his statement. He said that if

something isn't done about automation unemployment U.S. workers "may get rough in this country and this country may have a real upheaval, a real turmoil."

He said a new labor upsurge would make that of the 1930s seem "easy going," and that "today's workers are not like we were in the '30s." "They are men and women with the automobiles unpaid for, with the television sets unpaid for, with the hi-fi unpaid for," he said. "If the men and women of America are not put to work," he declared, "we may be facing real trouble from within."

A "Freedom From Poverty" rally has been called for Lincoln's Birthday in Albany by the Citizens Committee for a \$1.50 Minimum Hourly Wage in New York State. The committee, headed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, will also picket the state capitol and has called on "all organizations in the Negro and Spanish-speaking communities" to support the demonstrations for the minimum-wage legislation.

International Association of Machinists members at Lockheed Aircraft Corporation's California and Hawaii plants have accepted a new contract which does not include the union shop. The contract provides a small raise each year of a three-year contract. The union shop was in principle granted by a government fact-finding board, but refused by the company which forced a near strike on the issue. The strike was delayed by a Taft-Hartley injunction which was still in force when the present contract was accepted by the union.

The net result of the union leadership's reliance on the government to settle its problems has been a virtually complete retreat by the union — not only on the union-shop issue, but on the far more important question of raising aerospace wages up to the level of other metal-fabricating industries.

At Boeing, the company also forced the calling of a strike on similar issues and President Kennedy invoked the T-H injunction Jan. 23.

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Vol. 27 - No. 6

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Monday, February 11, 1963

The Chinese Attack on Yugoslavia

With this issue we complete the serialization of the editorial from the Peking People's Daily entitled, "The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us."

In coming issues we shall analyze the Moscow-Peking dispute and discuss a number of aspects of the Chinese document — both positive and negative.

Here, however, we should like to comment on the document's most glaring weakness — the vitriolic attack on Yugoslavia.

In demanding that Yugoslavia be read out of the company of workers' states, that it be expelled from association with the Soviet-bloc countries and, indeed, boycotted by them as a renegade and capitalist regime, the Chinese leaders are reverting to the methods of Stalin's original attempt to smash the Tito regime because it dared stand up for Yugoslav national rights.

Indeed, the severe economic reprisals — an indefensible act in disputes between workers' states — which China is itself now suffering at the hands of the Kremlin, were first employed and justified in Stalin's attempts to smash the Yugoslavs.

When Peking demands the exclusion of the Yugoslav Communists from party congresses of the Soviet-bloc countries it is facilitating the exclusion of Chinese representatives when Khrushchev deems that step necessary. The drowning out, by booing and hooting, of the speech of the Chinese representative at the recent East German party congress was a foretaste.

Finally, the Chinese complaints of Kremlin persecution of Albania fall flat when the Chinese proceed to demand precisely such treatment of the Yugoslavs.

That we are not Titoists is well known to those who have read our criticisms of the Yugoslav regime which, in brief, we consider a deformed workers' state basically similar to the East European members of the Soviet bloc. However, we believe that differences and disputes in the workers' camp should be argued out frankly and fully, with all sides being heard and without reprisals or exclusions. That is the negation of Stalinism and a return to Leninism.

Arizona Teachers Need Your Help

In March 1961 a "Communist Control Act" was passed in Arizona requiring "loyalty" oaths from the state's employees. Some teachers refused to sign the oath and the school administration cut off their pay checks. The teachers, however, remained on the job without pay.

The Emergency Committee to Defend Liberties of Arizona Employees is fighting the thought-control law, and the case of Mrs. Barbara Elfbrandt, Tucson grade school teacher, is now before the State Supreme Court.

The Court heard the case last May, but appears to be delaying a decision. Any delay hurts the teachers since they are working without pay until and unless the court rules the oath unconstitutional. The courageous teachers who have resisted so far on this important matter of principle may be forced into signing the oath in order to get paid.

The committee is appealing for funds to continue the fight. Contributions should be sent to the Emergency Committee to Defend Liberties of Arizona Employees, 2648 North Fair Oaks, Tucson, Arizona.

Anti-Union Bonding Squeeze

It doesn't take an especially sharp eye to see the hand of the Kennedy administration in the difficulties encountered by the Teamsters union in getting its officials bonded. The Kennedy brothers have become famous for the well-timed phone call to the corporation executive beholden to the government. Even without the phone call, bonding company officials — or anyone else — can get the message that one way to win friends and influence people in the administration is to join the pack harassing the Teamsters.

The procedure in this case is similar on a smaller scale to the treatment given the Cuban Revolution by Washington. In Cuba's case, Washington determined to destroy the revolution the moment it threatened U.S. corporation profits. So it cut Cuba off from oil, machinery, spare parts, arms, and barred export of its sugar and other crops to the U.S., all the while organizing armed attacks against the island. Then as Cuba turned to the Soviet bloc in sheer necessity, Washington screamed bloody murder that Cuba must be crushed since it had cut itself off from the U.S.

In the case of the Teamsters, Washington is determined to housebreak and debilitate the labor movement by striking a blow at this big transportation union. So it passes a law requiring all union officials to be bonded by private bonding firms approved by the government. Then it makes it impossible for the union to purchase such bonding. As a direct result of Washington's machinations, the union finds itself having difficulty complying with the law. Meanwhile the administration stands poised to punish the union for violating the law. Those are the workings of a well-managed "justice" under the Kennedy brothers.

...China's Reply to Its Soviet-Bloc Critics

(Continued from page 2)

developed Marxism-Leninism by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of the Chinese Revolution.

Despite the fact that the Chinese Revolution, like the revolutions of other countries, has many special characteristics, the Chinese Communists have always regarded the Chinese Revolution as a continuation of the great October Revolution. It was by following the path of the October Revolution that the Chinese Revolution was won.

Togliatti's distortions about the Chinese Revolution only show that he is trying to find pretexts for his own peculiar line, which runs counter to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the common laws governing the socialist revolution.

It is necessary that a Marxist-Leninist party integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in its own country and that it apply the common laws of Socialist revolution creatively in the light of the specific conditions in its own country.

Marxism-Leninism develops continuously with practice. Certain propositions advanced by a Marxist-Leninist Party during a certain period and under certain conditions have to be replaced by new propositions, because of changed circumstances and times. Failure to do so will result in the error of dogmatism and losses to the cause of communism.

Modern Revisionism

But under no circumstances is a Marxist-Leninist party allowed to use the pretext of certain new social phenomena to negate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, to substitute revisionism for Marxism-Leninism, and to betray communism.

At a certain stage in the development of a Communist party, dogmatism and sectarianism may become the main dangers. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are fully correct in pointing out the necessity of opposing dogmatism and sectarianism.

Nevertheless, under present conditions, modern revisionism is the main danger to the international Communist movement as a whole, just as the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement point out.

Modern revisionism "which mirrors the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, emasculates its revolutionary essence, and thereby paralyzes the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms and demoralizes the workers, the masses of the working people, in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national liberty for the triumph of socialism."

At present, modern revisionists oppose Marxism-Leninism under the pretext of opposing dogmatism, renounce revolution under the pretext of opposing "left" adventurism, and advocate unprincipled compromise and capitulationism under the pretext of flexibility in tactics. If a resolute struggle is not waged against modern revisionism, the international Communist movement will be seriously harmed.

Forced into Public Debate

The appearance of an adverse current, which is contrary to Marxism-Leninism and which is disrupting the unity of the international Communist movement, furnishes additional proof of the correctness of the theses in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

Concerning the major features of revisionism, Lenin once said, "to determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and the currents

and changes of petty politics, to forget the basic interests of the proletariat, the main features of the capitalist system as a whole and of capitalist revolution as a whole; to sacrifice these basic interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment — such is the policy of revisionism."

The revolutionary proletariat and the revolutionary people are sure to march along the correct road charted by Marxism-Lenin-



Togliatti

ism. Difficult and tortuous though it may be, it is the only road to victory. The historical development of society, will follow neither the "theories" of imperialism nor the "theories" of revisionism.

However much they may have done for the workers movement in the past, no person, no political party, and no group can avoid becoming the servant of the bourgeoisie and being cast aside by the proletariat, once they depart from the road of Marxism-Leninism and step on and slide down the road of revisionism.

We have been forced into a public discussion of the major differences between ourselves and Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades in the Italian Communist Party. It has occurred against our wishes and would not have occurred if they had not publicly challenged us first and insisted on a public debate.

But, even though we are obliged to enter into public debate, we still sincerely hope it will be possible to eliminate our differences through comradely discussion. Although, to our regret, we find that Togliatti and the comrades who share his views are increasingly departing from Marxism-Leninism, we still earnestly hope they will not plunge further, but will recover their bearings and return to the stand of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

Suggested World Congress

We desire to look ahead. On several occasions we have suggested the holding of a representative conference of the Communist and workers parties of all countries to settle the current differences in the international Communist movement.

We hold that Communists of all countries should take to heart the common interests of the struggle against the enemy and the cause of proletarian revolution, should abide by the principles guiding relations among fraternal parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and should eliminate their differences and strengthen their unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

This is the hope of the working class and of people throughout the world.

The history of the working-class movement in all countries during the past century and more is replete with sharp struggles between Marxism and all kinds of opportunism. From the very be-

ginning, the international Communist movement has steadily advanced by struggling against and overcoming reformism, social democracy, and revisionism. Today, the revisionists of various brands may bluster for a time, but this indicates not strength but weakness on their part.

The revisionist and new social-democratic trends which have now appeared in the international Communist movement and which suit the needs of monopoly capitalism and U.S. imperialism, are substantially the product of the policies of monopoly capital and U.S. imperialism, but the various kinds of revisionism can neither block the victorious advance of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples, nor can they save imperialism from its final doom.

In 1913, in the course of his struggle against opportunism, Lenin pointed out, in expounding the historical destiny of the doctrines of Karl Marx, that although Marxism had been subjected to distortions by the opportunists, the development of the revolutionary struggles of the people in all countries had continuously brought it new confirmation and new triumphs. Lenin correctly predicted, ". . . a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the period of history that is now opening."

Revolution Will Triumph

Now we feel that Marxism-Leninism is at a new and important historical juncture, the struggle between the Marxist-Leninist trend and the anti-Marxist-Leninist revisionist trend is once again being placed on the Communist agenda in all countries in an acute form. We are profoundly convinced that, however complicated the course of the struggle, the Marxist-Leninist trend will eventually triumph.

More than a century ago, in the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels made the courageous and gallant call to the whole world — "Let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

This great call inspires all revolutionaries dedicated to the cause of communism and the proletariat the world over, and imbues them with full confidence about the future, so that they will resolutely break through all obstacles and boldly advance.

At present the ranks of the international proletariat are growing stronger and stronger, the political consciousness of the people of all countries is constantly rising, the struggles for world peace, national liberation, democracy, and socialism are gaining victory after victory, and the great ideas of socialism and communism are attracting ever greater numbers among the oppressed nations and peoples who find themselves in a difficult and bitter plight.

Let imperialism and the reactionaries tremble before the great revolutionary tide of the working class and of all oppressed nations and peoples of the world! Marxism-Leninism will finally triumph! The revolutionary cause of the working class and of the people of the world over will finally triumph!

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LETTER FROM LONDON

Why De Gaulle Blocked Britain

LONDON — overshadowing everything else here at present is the crisis in the negotiations for Britain's entry into the Common Market. From all appearances, General de Gaulle effectively spik the unification of the Six [Common Market members] in Europe with this island kingdom for a considerable time to come. The causes are both economic and political. As de Gaulle has let it be known, he doesn't want an American "Trojan Horse" in the community of which he has assumed leadership, and that is how he looks upon Great Britain under its present government, particularly after the Nassau Pact between Macmillan and Kennedy.

From the political point of view, the French president's orientation is toward the creation of a third force that will be able to maneuver between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. His main reasoning is that in the developing diplomacy a deal between these two giants could very well be at the expense of the European capitalist powers. He also aims at putting capitalist Europe in a position to make a deal with the Soviet Union on its own strength, banking on what he regards as an inevitable clash between the USSR and China. In other words, he is counterposing a "grand design" of his own to that espoused by the United States, directly challenging Kennedy for leadership.

Economically, he made pointed references in his recent press conference to the American monopolies. In fact, the French delegation to the European Common Market has submitted a motion to investigate the interference of outside business interests in the affairs of the Six. It is well known that British business concerns, some already closely linked with their American counterparts, others with arrangements for close co-operation pending, are aiming at an organized drive to capture European markets. On both political and economic grounds, the recent conclusion of a tight Franco-German alliance is meant

to build up a counterpoise to the Anglo-Saxons in the capitalist world.

Whether, in the end, de Gaulle's design will come to anything may be doubtful. In spite of the resurgence of capitalism in Western Europe, the American power potential is still of far greater weight, backed as it is by the virtual monopoly of nuclear armament which is last resort of the



Gaitskell

capitalist world, and with which it is calculated no European combination will be able to catch up in the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, the conflict over the Common Market can create serious fissures in the structure of capitalism for a time and cause considerable disarray in the Western alliance that has been built up in the post-war years with great effort.

Decline of Britain

The collapse of the Brussels negotiations over the Common Market has, of course, left Britain in the worst spot, although the damage must be considerable even within the Six, engendering also a strain in the new German-French partnership. However, just as there is no unanimity in France itself, let alone in the rest

of the European Economic Community (EEC) over de Gaulle's policy of excluding England, so there were deep differences in Britain itself over Macmillan's projected entry.

Not only was the Labour Party officially opposed to the terms of entry acceptable to the government, but there was a strong opposition even within the Tory ranks reflecting varied business interests. For the government the overriding motive in its drive to get into the EEC was admittedly political, both because it meant a tightening up of the capitalist alliance against the Soviet block as well as a strengthening of the reactionary political regime, which could help to contain a Labour advance in Britain itself.

Brussels Fiasco

The Brussels fiasco aggravates an economic decline which was proceeding steadily and which entry was meant to halt. Both investment and production are continuing their downward trend here. The number of unemployed is officially admitted to be over 800,000 and unofficially calculated to be over the million mark, approaching more than five per cent of the working force.

The economic decline has been dramatized for the mass of the people by an unusually severe winter. A similar winter 1947, two years after the war and with a Labour Government in power, saw a breakdown in fuel and power supplies that caused widespread hardship. The Tories then did not shrink from the most demagogic kind of campaign blaming socialism for the hard winter. Now, 15 years later, eleven of them under Tory rule, similar breakdowns — at first attributed to a go-slow wage movement among electrical workers, over which the press carried on a veritable witch-hunt while it lasted — are clearly seen as due to lack of investment in extra plant (because it is "unprofitable," the Tory ministers explained) and the general stingi-



ANOTHER VISION. Gen. de Gaulle, who dreams of restoring the imperialist "grandeur" of France, is now giving Kennedy a hard time by attempting to forge a West European "third force."

ness of the government when it comes to public services.

In a united Europe or out, the capitalist remedy remains the same for all the economic ills: costs have got to be cut, industry must be more efficient to meet competition. What this means is not only emphasized by the growing unemployment figures, which include a large proportion due to automation; it is also made clear by the outcry that has gone out against strikes and the call to keep wages "in line with productivity."

In fact, the figures show that the British workers do not intend to take any attack on them lying down, and that they mean to increase their share of the "national cake," as the saying goes. Government statistics claim that in the course of 1962 the number of workers involved in strikes was the highest since 1926 (the year of the general strike); that more workers received increases in wages this year than in any year on record.

Obviously, the workers' mood is a militant one. An indication that it will continue is the authorization of an official strike at the great Dagenham Ford works over the dismissal of militant shop stewards.

With the so-called "Tory" image in tatters — unemployment and industrial unrest at home ripping away the fiction of the affluent "one nation" myth; de Gaulle and Kennedy between them battering Britain's power status in the world — the fortunes of the Macmillan government are at low ebb. The coming of a Labour government in the next elections is taken as a foregone conclusion. And this, despite the recent loss by the Labour

Party of Hugh Gaitskell, the leader whose public figure had been carefully built up over years, and who gained more or less unchallenged ascendancy only after many bitter battles with the party's left wing.

Gaitskell's unexpected death at the age of 56 has been made an occasion for national mourning by the powers that be and their establishment in a way unprecedented for a Labour leader, with all the cant and hypocrisy that this calls forth. In the Labour Party itself, it has produced a new fluidity. Commenting with sympathy on the personal tragedy, the left-wing journals mince no words about their continued opposition to the Gaitskell line and all it stood for; crass class collaboration, nationally and internationally.

As a labour figure, the high point in the life of this scion of a family, that carried the white man's burden in the colonies, was his decision to side with the workers while he was a student at Oxford University during the General Strike of 1926. It is difficult to find a single action thereafter that matched this. On the contrary everything he did thereafter seemed calculated to wipe out this merit, including his campaign against Aneurin Bevan, who particularly aroused the hatred of the ruling class throughout the years. Bevan died at peace with Gaitskell, but he got no accolades or eulogies from the Tories like the latter.

Circumstances shaping up in Britain today unmistakably point to renewed fluidity in the Labour Party and a revival of its left wing.

—T. J. Peters

World Events

China Honors Cuba

The government of China has issued six new postage stamps honoring the fourth anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban Revolution. Some have Fidel Castro's picture on them and such slogans as, "Let's drive back imperialist aggressions."

Support For Angola

Premier Ben Bella has announced that Algeria has given arms to Angolan insurgents and was prepared to give more. Ben Bella also said that Algerian officers were training rebels from the Portuguese West African Territory.

Anything for Co-Existence

A special dispatch to the *Philadelphia Inquirer* from London on fox hunting reports: "When pink-coated 'Reds' started riding to hounds in England recently not a British eyebrow was raised. They immediately grasped the purpose of the hunt," said the Hunt Master, referring to three Soviet diplomats who joined the Cottesmore, crème de la crème of British hunts. "They were shouting Tallyho the minute I gave the order."

Soviet Automation

"Now that the national economy is developing with giant strides, the old methods of management are no longer applicable," said Michael Rakovsky, vice-chairman of the state committee

for automation and machine building in the Soviet Union. Most Russian shops and offices figure their accounts on the abacus, which will be replaced with a nationwide system of electronic computing centers. Rakovsky said that when it was completed the electronic system would replace about 3,000,000 workers now employed in accounting operations.

Suez Canal Fully Paid For

Last month the final payments of the \$80 million compensation to shareholders of the old Suez Canal Company were made by Egypt. The Suez Canal which Egypt nationalized six and a half years ago has been run since not only efficiently but profitably.

Singapore Jails 97 Socialists

Internal Security Minister Dato Ismail of the government of Singapore announced on Feb. 2 that 97 leftists had been arrested to prevent a "Communist Cuba in Singapore." Ismail said that the target of the police action was the Barisan Socialist Opposition Party.

The Barison Socialists oppose the inclusion of Singapore in the projected Malaysian Federation next August. Ismail, a Maylayan member of the Internal Security Council, charged that the Socialists supported an uprising against the British in oil-rich Borneo territories in December.

Maylaya, meanwhile, ordered 800 troops bound for UN duty in the Congo

to stay home to help the British counter Indonesia's announced support of the Borneo rebels.

Dig a Protest

The Bavarian State Supreme Court has ruled that digging holes in a public park is a legitimate form of protest. Last year three men were caught digging foxholes in Munich's Maximilian Square and were fined \$12.50 each for "ridiculing a government pamphlet recommending ways to survive an atomic blast." The Supreme Court said criticism can be expressed by other means than words and that the men were only exercising the right to express an opinion.

New Polish Penal Code

The new Polish penal code provides harsher penalties for many offenses. Drunkenness or laziness on the job can net the offender five years in jail, and a man who spends his pay drinking or gambling can get up to three years. Divorce has been made more expensive and more difficult to obtain. Parents whose children commit misdemeanors become liable to two years in prison, even if they are totally unaware of the offense.

Capital punishment is provided for 24 offenses, five per cent of all listed offenses. Gen. Kazimierz Witaszewski, an office-holder during the Stalin era, who heads the Communist Party's administrative department, said that the new code is still too weak.

(Continued from Page 1)

ers a day's pay for coming and distributing one-Cordoba bills (about 15c) to children in the audience.

Aguero withdrew from the election, pointing out that it was rigged. President Somoza, Anastasio's son, told foreign newsmen who asked why he had stopped opposition radio broadcasts: "In my opinion the masses of the people are not really ready to understand the country's situation."

A restrained article in the Feb. 2 *Christian Science Monitor* partly describes that situation as follows: "Each member of the Liberal Party has an identification card that often brings kind treatment from the police if he is arrested . . . There has been at least one political murder by government troops in recent months . . . High officials in all government departments have built up personal fortunes."

On election day there was rioting by students protesting the fraud at the polls. Several persons were killed and others wounded by Somoza's police. Aguero was put

under house arrest and several of his followers were wounded.

The *United Press* reports that when Kennedy visits Costa Rica March 18 one of his tasks will be to "reassure the six chiefs of state of continued U.S. protection." That is, continued U.S. protection of the Somoza dictatorship among others.

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The Negro Demands, 'Freedom Now!'

'Later,' Says the White Liberal

By George Breitman

"Now!" says the militant Negro of his demand for equality.

"Never!" says the white supremacist.

"Later," say an increasing number of white liberals.

This way of posing things, as Murray Friedman has done in his article, "The White Liberal's Retreat," in the January *Atlantic*, is very apt. In a nutshell it explains why so many militant Negroes are bitter about liberals and liberalism (including most union leaders).

Of course liberals still say they favor equality too. But they want it eventually, gradually, later — that is, not now. And today they want it later than they did ten years ago. Recognition of this fact is indispensable for all the forces that stand for Freedom Now.

Useful Testimony

What makes Friedman's testimony particularly useful is that he is a white liberal himself, not a Negro or radical. He understands that "the Negro will accept nothing short of first-class citizenship, now," and he is afraid that if the liberals continue with their "retreat," the civil-rights struggle may turn "in new and socially irresponsible directions, perhaps in the further growth of the racist, Negro nationalist movement."

To prevent that, Friedman speaks quite plainly to his fellow-liberals, softening his criticism by saying "many" liberals when he should say "most." Following is the gist of his report on what is happening:

White liberals are having "second thoughts" since the Supreme Court decision on the public schools in 1954.

Beginning around 1957, when the Southern white supremacists started to resist school desegregation violently, a "shift in attitude" became noticeable among "better-educated whites." "Increasingly, they have been willing to accept a slower and smaller amount of desegregation in the South."

"Northern opinion" has "accepted token integration, the device Southerners have skillfully fashioned to avoid the consequences of integration."

Northern Liberals

In the North white liberals have helped to pass local and state anti-discrimination laws in housing and schooling. "Yet they themselves have been moving to the farthest reaches of the cities and to the suburbs. They have pushed up the enrollment at private and parochial schools, (and) shut their eyes to the widespread practice of gerrymandering of school district lines to avoid integration . . . The result is that many liberals, while opposed to color lines, are helping to make these lines stronger and tighter."

The white liberal is also "increasingly uneasy about the nature and consequences of the Negro revolt." He is disturbed that his methods (legal action, conciliation, compromise, etc.) are "now labeled too slow by newer Negro (and some white) 'direct actionists,' who have turned to sit-ins and boycotts in the North as well as in the South, 'buy Black' campaigns, and strident

demands by Negro leaders that Negroes be elected or appointed to office on a frankly racial basis. There has also been a growth in the Negro nationalist movement."

Negro criticisms of the white liberal anger him because he feels they make "little or no distinction between friends and enemies."

Liberal whites are also "disenchanted" with the new Negro because they realize "they are being thrust aside from positions of leadership in the civil-rights effort. Having controlled this fight for so long and dictated much of its strategy, the liberals resent being pushed out."

Want No Trouble

"In the final analysis, a liberal, white, middle-class society wants to have change, but without trouble. And this an aroused Negro community cannot provide . . . In his concern about avoiding social turmoil in race relations, the liberal white stands in danger of trying to contain the civil-rights revolution. He cannot do this, nor would it be wise to do so if he could."

And Friedman sums up the issues behind the growing gap between white liberalism and the Negro community this way: "Many liberals are hinting to a restless Negro group that they postpone their most urgent demands because many Negroes are not yet ready to be integrated into a white middle-class society and the social cost, in terms of conflict, may be too high."

Not yet ready; change, but without trouble; later — these tired tunes used to be part of the ancient theme song of the most reactionary section of our racist society. But the White liberals, with hardly a catch in their throats, have taken them over and are singing them loud and clear.

Not Yet Ready

"Not yet ready . . ." Before Friedman's article, John Fischer of *Harpers* was insolently demanding that Negroes slow up their fight in order to concentrate on "changes in the habits, character and ambitions of a lot of Negroes." Since Friedman's article, another white liberal, Herman P. Miller, tells Negroes to go in for "self-improvement" because "Nothing is gained by integrating a community when the older residents move out because their new neighbors are neither pleasant nor desirable." (*Nation*, Jan. 26). Who needs enemies when you have "friends" and self-appointed advisers like these?

"Change, but without trouble..." If that's the criterion, then of course there never will be any change, because "trouble" originates from the white supremacists and racists, who certainly will use everything in their power, including violence, to maintain the privileges resulting from the status quo. What Negroes want is change, plenty of it; trouble, conflict and strife on their part is a justified reaction to the white supremacists, and the only way in which change can be achieved. Frederick Douglass could have been talking about today's liberals when he said, over a century ago:

"If there is no struggle there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters." Our liberals don't want the ground plowed, by themselves or Negroes, because they don't really want the crops. "Later . . ." This is a convenient-

ly elastic term. The only thing definite about it is that it means not now, which of course is the most important thing it means. The second most important thing is that it leads to the question, how much later? Faced with this question, there are not many liberals who will say, "We don't know exactly how much later, but WE will let you know when the time comes." Yet that is what they mean.

Scour the country from the rock-ribbed coast of Maine to the sunny shores of California, and you will never find a liberal who says, "Later means one year." Or two years. Or five. Somehow their vision permits them to see the promised land only a long way off — in terms of generations at least.

Take a prominent governmental liberal, for example. Attorney General Robert Kennedy is in an excellent position to know the tempo at which the government intends to proceed in the field of race relations. He announced, in 1961, that it would be possible to elect a Negro as president in 30 or 40 years. So stick with the Kennedys, boys, and "cool off" when they tell you to, and there may be a black man in the White House in the year 2000, when most of us will be dead. You have Kennedy's word for it, which is almost as good as an election promise.

"Three Decades"

Non-government liberals use different language, but they agree with Kennedy on what "later" means. Dr. Arnold Rose, in an introduction to the 20th-anniversary edition of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*, recently wrote: "I venture to predict the end of all formal segregation within a decade, and the decline of informal segregation and discrimination so that it would be a mere shadow in two decades. The dynamic social forces creating inequality will, I predict, be practically eliminated in three decades."

Suppose they are wrong about this modern version of pie-in-the-sky - if-only-the-Negro-will-wait-and-do-as-he-is-told-in-the-mean-time? It will be no skin off their backs. It isn't the Kennedys or Roses who are being advised to wait another half of a lifetime before they can hope to be treated as first-class citizens. It isn't the white liberals who are being told they must reconcile themselves to having their children grow up during all of their formative years with inferior schools, worse jobs, lower pay, fewer rights, poorer health and shorter life expectancy.

A Dime a Dozen

Such predictions are a dime a dozen, exactly what they are worth. Analysis provides a much better guide to action for the Freedom Now forces. Analysis leads, at the very least, to the asking of the right questions:

What causes racial oppression? Isn't it economically the drive for profit and politically the desire to keep the exploited divided and fighting each other along color lines so that they can't unite against their common exploiter?

Will the big business rulers of our country ever give up such profitable advantages without being forced to? Will they consent to a political revolution in the South (that's what equality for the Negro will mean there) when they know that such a political revolution will tend to become a social revolution, and could not be confined to the South? If it took a second American revolution to end



OUSTED FROM UN. One of a group of militant demonstrators forcibly ejected from UN visitors' gallery where they staged a protest demonstration at time of murder of Lumumba. Increasing numbers of fighters against Jim Crow in this country see themselves as joined in common cause with those struggling for independence from colonialism.

chattel slavery, what reason is there to think that the present ruling class intends to abolish racial oppression in our time?

The answers to these and related questions will provide a much better picture of what the future holds, of how racism will be eliminated, and when — not in terms of dates, but as the result of certain kinds of preceding struggles.

There used to be an ad that asked, "Eventually — why not now?" Some liberals, as we have seen, openly answer, "Because you (the Negro) are not yet ready," when the truth is that it is the liberal who is not ready, and he is not ready because the white supremacist is not ready. Most liberals, slicker, answer, "Well, obviously, a change of this magnitude cannot be made overnight."

Overnight has been a long long time, not just years or decades, but centuries. And what is "obvious" to the white liberal is no longer obvious to the Negro, and the radical. Domination by white exploiters of labor has been ended in large parts of the world. And closer to home, in Cuba, where Negroes are a minority of the population too, racial oppression

was ended literally overnight.

It was done not only fast, but easily. The revolutionary government headed by Castro decided that discrimination and segregation had to go. Not gradually, not later, but right away and altogether. And that's how Jim Crow went out in Cuba.

Nobody waited for the Cuban capitalists to get "ready"; they packed their bags and lit out for Miami pronto, or faster with all their prejudice. Nobody waited for other biased whites to lose their prejudices gradually; they saw that the government meant business and that they had to adjust themselves to the new setup without a day's delay, and they did. All that was needed was a revolutionary government, imbued with the determination and will to abolish racism, root and branch, and suddenly it became obvious that everybody was ready for it, each in his own way, and that the change was long overdue.

The time to start working for that kind of government in our country is now. A clean break with liberalism, and all of its premises, policies and methods, is an essential step in that direction. It is heartening to see how fast that break is proceeding today.

Local Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044. If no answer, call HU 6-7025.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Labor Book Shop and Socialist Workers Party, 563 16th St., Oakland 12, Calif. TE 6-2077. If no answer call 261-5642.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 8412, Philadelphia 1, Pa.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum, Temporarily c/o Oakland-Berkeley (see above).

ST. LOUIS. Phone Main 1-2669. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif. For labor and socialist books, Sign of the Sun Books, 4705 College Ave.

SEATTLE. 1412 18th Ave., EA 5-0191. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays.

Letters From Our Readers

'Murdered' vs. 'Lynched'

Albuquerque, N.M.
I imagine that "lynched" carries a greater emotional impact than "shot," else Evelyn Sell would have used the latter in her article (*Militant*, Dec. 24, 1962) where the death of Presbyterian Minister Elijah Lovejoy, who was murdered by a hail of bullets on Nov. 7, 1837 in Alton, Ill., is described.

The hall which is mentioned — Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass. — was originally refused but very shortly thereafter rented to the Abolitionists. See the "Selected Writings of John Chapman," pp. 65-66, Farrar, Strauss and Cudahy, 1957. As with many of your articles, this one could have done with a touch less emotionalism and a trifle more research and reference.

Reader

[In the article, "How School Books Distort Negro History,"

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"A U.S. officer in Korea has been court-martialed for beating and kicking to death a Korean Presbyterian minister. The officer broke into a smile when the court martial announced a two-year sentence. Rev. E. Otto de Camp, head of the Presbyterian mission in Korea said of the light sentence: 'This will be the biggest blow to Christianity in Asia since it was introduced by the first missionaries.' Chun Pil Sun, head of the Presbyterian Church in Seoul, declared: 'It is obvious now the life of a Korean means nothing to the United States Army.'" — Feb. 9, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"The German fascists, reeling under the blows of the Red Army, are attempting to explain away their defeats . . .

"Hans Fritsche, Nazi military commentator, spoke to the German people on Jan. 27 and said, 'Only now do we know what terrific masses of arms and reserves the Soviet Union had stored up.'

"But it is more than a question of 'stored up' planes and tanks and guns — it is a question of producing new ones to replace those worn out or lost in action. In this respect the Soviet Union has accomplished what appears to the capitalist world to be miracles of production. They have converted the entire economy to war production. They have transported whole industries out of the battle zones and relocated them deep in the rear. Moreover, many plants have even continued to produce sinews of war under the very muzzle of enemy cannon. And throughout, the Red Army has received a steady flow of new and improved arms with which to battle the fascists.

"And from what source do these seeming miracles flow? From the self-sacrificing Russian workers producing under socialist methods . . .

"The superiority of the Soviet productive system was irrefutably demonstrated in peacetime when . . . the USSR made gigantic leaps in industry and agriculture under the Five Year Plans. The superiority of the Soviet productive system is now being demonstrated under wartime conditions. But under Stalin the full advantages of the Soviet system are not realized . . .

"Soviet industry and thereby Soviet military power would be immeasurably strengthened were the freely elected Soviets and trade unions restored." — Feb. 6, 1943.

Evelyn Sell wrote: "Anti-slavery newspapers were destroyed and abolitionist editors physically attacked. Each denial of liberty was quickly followed by another. When Elijah Lovejoy, an abolitionist editor, was lynched his friends attempted to hold a public meeting. They could not rent a hall. This was in the North! Even freedom of assembly was attacked by the needs of the slave system."

The unabridged Webster's dictionary defines "lynch": "To inflict punishment, especially death, upon, without the forms of law, as when a mob captures and hangs a suspected person." Its definition of "lynch-law" includes the phrase "mob murder."

"Reader" is correct that Faneuil Hall was first denied and then rented to the Abolitionists for a meeting to protest the killing of Lovejoy. When the news of Lovejoy's death reached Boston Nov. 19, 1837 a group of prominent citizens made application for the use of Faneuil Hall, then municipally owned. Application was rejected by the mayor and board of aldermen on the ground that the country might regard the meeting as "the public voice of the city." This provoked a stormy protest and the officials finally yielded to the massive agitation and gave permission for a meeting on Dec. 8 — with the provision that it be held in the morning to avoid "disorder." These facts, we suggest, confirm Evelyn Sell's point about slavery and curbs on freedom of assembly.

We favor a maximum of research for our articles and, within the limitations of a small staff and meager resources, strive to do our best in this.

We do not favor substituting emotionalism for facts. But we also do not require of our writers that they divest themselves of all emotional reaction to the facts they are presenting. We think, for example, that Evelyn Sell has a right to be indignant about how school books distort Negro history and that her indignation is warranted by the facts she presented. EDITOR.]

On the Beach

New York, N.Y.
Recently I watched a TV showing of the movie, *On the Beach*, a story of the last survivors of the Bomb. The story obviously has not lost its impact since the TV producers, as always, cut it to pieces in order to "tone it down." By the time they were finished the film didn't even seem real. Just the effect they were striving for, no doubt.

For example, there is one scene in which the submarine makes a trip from Australia to San Francisco to investigate a radio signal and a man jumps ship near his home in California. The original film shows the sailor walking through the streets and seeing people hanging limp out of the windows.

In the TV version, the man is seen rowing toward shore and that's it.

Other particularly shocking scenes were cut too. But even then they couldn't let well enough alone. Amazingly enough, they had left in the scene in which the author expressed his conviction that people doom themselves the minute they accept the belief that the way to prevent atomic annihilation is to develop weapons so dan-

Thought for the Week

"In 1960, there were almost 10½ million American families . . . living in poverty, with annual incomes under \$4,000 before taxes. Almost 3½ million had annual incomes under \$2,000 — less than half the amount needed to place them above the poverty level . . . The families living in poverty in 1960 were about 23 per cent of all families." — From *Poverty and Deprivation*, A Conference on Economic Progress booklet.

gerous that no one could use them without extinguishing life altogether.

After this, an announcer tells the viewers that in order to prevent the horror shown in *On the Beach* we must build bigger and more lethal weapons than ever before!

It makes you wonder why they show films only to cut them to pieces, particularly when they leave in the message and believe the audience dumb enough to accept their own "message" which flatly contradicts the one so effectively made in the film.

Why not just produce their own show with their own capitalist ideas in it and not waste their money and my time tampering with others.

M.H.

New Punch Line

Minneapolis, Minn.

Last Saturday night, on the Jackie Gleason television program, comedian Jackie Miles told an old anti-communist joke: but the laugh was something new.

Miles was comparing a race-track tout to a communist. The laugh was supposed to be in response to the line: "Neither one ever had anything, hasn't got anything, or ever will have anything — but they're going to show you how to get everything."

However, it was the next line which got the laugh when Miles added: "That isn't a very good joke but it keeps me from being investigated."

It would seem that both the comedian and audience evidenced growing political awareness, while

the ruling class probably didn't think it was very funny at all.

J.K.

We Caught On

Canton, Mass.

Enclosed find a check for \$6 for which please send two copies of each issue to me on subscriptions.

I have been reading your catchy little paper at the Uptown News Store in Boston but sometimes they miss issues or are sold out.

Being a working person myself and interested in the working class movement I'd like to keep abreast of items which I've noticed seem to be featured only in your fiery little sheet and the *National Guardian*. (The same procurement conditions apply for this weekly also.) So, being a bit "flush" financially at present, I'm getting around to that subscription I've been promising myself for quite a while.

E.T.

Socialist Perspectives

New York, N.Y.

Today American youth is beginning to rise up, some only on an intellectual level, some on the battlefields of the civil-rights struggle. Everywhere there is confusion and a lack of orientation. Where does the future lie? What can we do? What must we do? How can we do it?

The labor movement has, within the lifetime of the youth of this nation, offered no direction as it did in the 30s. Its bureaucratization has caused many to turn in disgust at the corruption and lack of fighting spirit. They do not see the connection between the 30s, the present, and the fu-

ture which depends upon the revitalization of the American working class.

American youth do not see at the present time the important connection, the necessary linkage between a fighting, revitalized, anti-bureaucratic labor movement and the success of the independent Negro struggle. American youth do not see the necessary linkage of the peace movement to the main force in the United States (and in the world, for that matter) which can and must turn away from imperialist war, the working class.

The Socialist Workers Party, whose views are found in *The Militant*, points the way to the future. Papers and magazines, such as the *Nation* or *National Guardian* offer important information which cannot be acquired in the daily press. But *The Militant* connects isolated and separate struggles and puts forward a battle program for the future, for the abolition of hardship, exploitation and imperialist war, for the establishment of the political rule of the working class and all the exploited.

The reason that I wrote this letter is to express certain ideas which have been going through my mind. I would like to add, though, that I feel that having a newspaper with a revolutionary perspective will not bring about socialism. That will take dedicated struggle by the revolutionary socialists, by the Socialist Workers Party, along the side of all those who are striving for the creation of the new socialist order. S.F.

It Was Reported in the Press

He's Arrived — This year's Notre Dame Senior class award for patriotism will go to UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson. Previous prize-winners include John F. Kennedy, Richard Nixon and J. Edgar Hoover.

Tough-Situation Dep't — The Jan. 28 Portland *Oregonian* reported on the difficulties of 37 Cuban refugee families in Portland. Some of them are jobless and on welfare because they don't speak English or have no work experience. The *Oregonian* was particularly touched by one plight: "In another case — that of a widow — the problem almost borders on tragedy. The woman, who comes from a wealthy family long associated in real estate and diplomatic circles in Cuba, is completely unequipped for employment. Having servants to do everything for her since childhood, the woman has never had to lift a finger to work and now finds herself in a situation completely alien to her environment. She, too, is on welfare."

How's Your Old Chevvy? — General Motors racked up a net profit in 1962 of \$1,459,000,000. That's more than any other business has ever stashed away in a single year.

Ethical Drug Profits — Remember the howls of the pill peddlers at the Kefauver committee's revelations of sky-high profits at the expense of the sick? Now one of the major drug firms, Smith, Klein & French, reports that in 1962 it enjoyed a profit of \$30,527,600 after taxes. That represents a

return of 17 per cent on sales of \$180,165,000. By comparison, GM, no amateur at profit-making, netted ten per cent of its gross sales.

Visiting Hours Formula — Drew Pearson's Jan. 29 syndicated column reported: "He was not on the official list of White House callers, but John Murchison, the Texas oil millionaire, had a 90-minute private talk with President Kennedy last week . . . Murchison was interested in talking to Kennedy because he and other Texans are worried about the 27½ per cent oil depletion allowance . . . Murchison's partner, Bedford Wynne, had master-minded the lavish \$1,000-a-plate that raised half a million dollars for the Democratic Party so he had no trouble getting Murchison in to see the President. JFK is following the Eisenhower rule: The more campaign money you give the longer you can talk privately in the White House."

Matter of Definition — Arizona real estate authorities say they intend to crack down on misleading advertising of land in the

state. One of many complaints is about developers who advertise "water available." In some such cases the "available" water was in coin-operated machines six miles away.

Those Dirty Reds — Catholic youth leaders in England have protested to the U.S. Embassy against the flow of pornographic literature from this country. One Catholic spokesman tempered his protest with the suggestion that perhaps some of the literature was produced "behind the iron curtain" and was sent to the West for purposes of corrupting our way of life.

It Figures — Residents of Dallas, Texas, have followed the progress reports on an abandoned infant suffering from pneumonia. A Jan. 23 news bulletin from the Methodist Hospital, which took care of the child, reported he had recovered during his two weeks stay and had run up a bill of \$340.95. The announcement coincided with the report of a deluge of applications to adopt the baby.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER!

A Four-Month Subscription To The Militant for only \$1

Name	Street	Zone
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SNCC Benefit Concert Fills Carnegie Hall

NEW YORK — The third anniversary of the Greensboro, N.C., sit-in which started the South-wide student protest movement against racial segregation, was celebrated Feb. 1 by a concert here in Carnegie Hall. The anniversary celebration in New York City may yet prove to be an important historical milestone itself.

It was organized by and held for the benefit of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee, the militant organization which came out of the sit-ins and which has been sparking the Negro voter-registration drives and anti-segregation demonstrations in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and elsewhere in the South. This was the first attempt of the Southern-based action group to hold a public benefit in New York City. Carnegie Hall was filled with young people and over 1,000 had to be turned away after the tickets were sold out.

Jail Veterans Honored

Among the entertainers who donated their services were Tony Bennett, Ruby Dee, Ossie Davis, John Henry Faulk, Charlie Mingus, Thelonius Monk, and the Herbie Mann Sextet. Also appearing were the Freedom Singers, a professional-quality gospel-style group of young people who have also been SNCC field secretaries active in the movement in Albany, Ga., and elsewhere.

At one point in the program, many youth active in the Southern civil-rights struggle were called onto the stage. The record of each was briefly cited. Veterans of the jails of Nashville, Jackson, Albany, Monroe and Baton Rouge took their places on stage, with the greatest applause going to those with the longest jail records. Two, whose names were called though they were not present, were SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman and Clyde Ken-



ONE OF THE FIRST in the historic wave of sit-ins against segregation which began Feb. 1, 1960. Pictured above are South Carolina junior college students occupying Woolworth's lily-white lunch counter in Rock Hill, S.C., Feb. 12, 1960. They insisted on service in the face of hoodlum attacks. The sit-in movement gave birth to local direct action groups which united in the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee.

nard (see story page 1). Forman has been hospitalized with an ulcer condition.

After the list was completed, the stageful of veterans, along with folk singers Guy Carawan, Pete Seeger and the Freedom Singers, joined in songs of the movement.

An impressive part of the program was the speech by Charles McDew, national chairman of SNCC. He reminded the audience that people soon forget the Mack Parkers and Emmett Tills, and

that the crimes still continue. Herbert Lee, he pointed out, was murdered for aiding a SNCC voter-registration drive. He told the young people present that SNCC needs their help to keep going and that they should fight discrimination in the North too. He said Negroes had been sent to fight in three wars in this century to "make the world safe for democracy," and that now it was time to fight for it in the South and to "make democracy safe for the world."

At the end of the program the audience, linked arms and, led by the Freedom Singers, sang the theme song of the civil-rights movement, "We Shall Overcome." It was announced that SNCC will be having more benefit concerts in New York, given by the many performers who have volunteered. Information may be obtained from SNCC's New York City office at 5 Beekman St.

Comm. for Medical Aid To Cuba Ends Activity

NEW YORK — The Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, formed more than a year ago as a non-political, humanitarian effort to help relieve the temporary shortage of vitally-needed drugs and medical supplies in Cuba, terminated its activities on Jan. 31, 1963.

Mrs. Melitta del Villar, chairman of the committee, said the decision to dissolve the committee was inevitable "in the light of the recent indemnity transactions by which Cuba received approximately \$25 million worth of medicines and medical supplies from the United States." In a letter mailed to several thousand contributors and supporters throughout the United States, the committee reported that in 19 months of operation it shipped to Cuba several tons of medicines which had been urgently requested by Cuban hospitals.

In November the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee was the object of a witch-hunt attack by the House Un-American Activities Committee, which tried to smear the group as a "foreign agent."

Hard Work

When Clarence Darrow, the greatest trial lawyer in U.S. history, reached his 70th birthday, he was asked to what he attributed his success. "Hard work," he replied. "You see, when I was a boy, my father put me out in the field to dig potatoes. So I decided I would never work again and became a lawyer."

2 More Unions Join Walkout on Cleveland Dailies

CLEVELAND, Feb. 3 — Picket lines outside the *Cleveland Press* and *The Plain Dealer* grew larger last week. The Newspaper Guild, which has maintained round-the-clock, seven-day-a-week picketing since Nov. 30, was joined by fresh forces from International Typographical Union Local 53 and Cleveland Mailers Local 12.

Also picketing the papers were members of Teamsters Local 473, who struck Nov. 29, returned to work Dec. 10, then walked out again Dec. 20.

The Press Guild unit which had weakened the hand of the union negotiators by voting Jan. 24 to accept the employers' formulations on union security, last Wednesday, by a larger majority, reversed that action. They voted to hold out for a form of union security stronger than the maintenance of membership in the commercial department which management proposed.

The ITU, which had been forced to suspend payment of strike benefits because of depletion of its fund, resumed payments last week. An appeal for emergency loans to all locals brought an immediate and enthusiastic response in cash and pledges amounting, according to unofficial reports, to over a million dollars. Meanwhile, a national referendum was scheduled for Feb. 6 in which ITU members were expected to vote to assess themselves 3 per cent of their earnings for a year to support striking members in New York, Cleveland and elsewhere.

First response of the publishers to the strike action of the mailers and typographers last week was the familiar howl that the union demands would lead to the "bankruptcy of the *Press*."

This statement was made by

16 Pickets Arrested During D.C. Protest

WASHINGTON, D. C. — On the evening of Jan. 31 police arrested 16 persons who were among a group of 40 protesting the awarding of the "Democratic Legacy" Award to President Kennedy. The pickets were in the vicinity of the Sheraton-Park Hotel, where the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith was presenting the award.

The police would not allow the pickets to protest at the hotel, and moved them two blocks away. After an hour of picketing on a dark corner, the demonstrators began to shout "Free William Worthy!" At this point the police arrested ten men, four women, and two girls who were booked and released on bail.

At the picket line the Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee handed out a leaflet which said "While the ADL's one thousand guests enjoy a \$100-a-plate dinner with the president, black American citizens in Mississippi and other southern states live under a reign of terror similar to the Nazi terror against Jews."

The pickets were specifically protesting Kennedy's prosecution of Negro reporter William Worthy, who was convicted for the "crime" of returning to his country "without a passport." His real "crime" has been his honest reporting of U.S. colonialism abroad and of the achievements of the Cuban Revolution especially in eliminating racial discrimination.



Secretary of Labor Wirtz has been telling unionists that if they don't stop striking, Congress will make them. See story, page 1.

George S. Carter, business manager of the paper that has a complete monopoly of the afternoon news field in Cleveland. He also threw into the dispute the totally irrelevant charge of a "mutuality of strategy" between the strike leaders in Cleveland and New York.

Debunking reaction of newspapermen familiar with the facts was: "If the *Press*, with its monopoly of the afternoon field in Cleveland, its high advertising rates and price of 10 cents a copy, and its high profits, can't afford to pay decent wages, then let it go bankrupt; let it be taken over by more efficient management."

Continued efforts of Mayor Ralph S. Locher to intervene in the strike last week were no more productive than earlier efforts of a *Plain Dealer*-initiated "citizens committee" of which he was a member.

Charles Thompson, secretary-treasurer of Photoengravers Local 24 and chairman of the unity group that includes leaders of ten unions at the papers, bluntly stated:

"I don't think the mayor has done a good job up to now except to confuse."

"We don't need any outsider who knows nothing of the workings of newspapers," Thompson said, and added that the mayor would not be allowed to enter his union's negotiations.

Symposium On Negro-Jewish Relations

NEW YORK — Cleveland Robinson, vice president of District 65, RWDSU, journalist William Worthy, Rabbi Kurt Flascher and editor Morris U. Schappes will participate in a symposium on "New Developments and Tensions in Negro-Jewish Relations."

It will be held Sunday, Feb. 10, from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. at the Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union's District 65 Center, 13 Astor Place. The symposium is sponsored by Jewish Currents, the monthly magazine edited by Mr. Schappes.